

diarrhea-related disease. We should do more of that. We should reduce the pool of potential terrorists by showing people that we will not claim for ourselves what we would deny to them.

We should continue to promote democracy throughout the world. It is no accident that the most fertile recruitment grounds for terrorists in the world occur in countries that are not democracies. Because when people cannot exercise any responsibility for themselves, they are kept in a state of permanent collective immaturity, and it becomes quite easy if they are in distress to convince them that our success is the cause of their problems. This creates, I might add, agonizing dilemmas for leaders of such countries, many of whom have been our friends but also are terrified by stirring dissent in their own countries. And it is going to be a significant challenge for us when the current military campaign is over.

But if you look at the Middle East, it's no accident that perhaps the stablest country is not the richest. Jordan is a country that is ripe for trouble. A majority of its people are no longer Jordanians; they are Palestinians. Indeed, the young queen of Jordan is a Palestinian. But the late King Hussein several years ago recognized that he had to find a way if he wished to preserve the monarchy as a relevant institution in modern times to give the people of Jordan some greater say over their own lives. So they began to have elections, real elections where real parties could run, including militant Islamic fundamentalists who could get elected to parliament. The problem is, as we all find, after the campaign when you get one of these jobs, you actually have to show up for work. And when you have to show up for work, people expect you to deliver, especially if they can hold you accountable. And so people of highly extreme political views have to reconcile them to get decisions made so that the country can go forward. You may have noticed some of that occurring in the previous years in America.

The same thing will happen in other countries with people of different views. The king of Jordan can still replace the prime minister. He is still the spokesperson and the leader of the state and the person who charts a course in foreign affairs. He comes to see our president in times like this. But it's an example of the kind of thing that we need more of. Because if people have no outlet for their frustrations at home and never have to take any responsibility for themselves, then they will never have an awareness of what they have to do to solve their own problems and to get the help that they may well deserve and to make the most of it if it comes.

This is a big issue and will grow larger in the years ahead.

Finally, we have to continue our efforts to show people all over the world that America is not the enemy of any faith or any people. Actually, Mr. bin Laden has a pretty hard case to make against America if you look at all the facts.

The last time we used military power was to protect the lives of poor Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo. We lead the world in the debt forgiveness campaign I just mentioned. We stood for a fair and a just peace in the Middle East, which would have given the Palestinians their state, and their equities in their religious sites and a chance to make a genuine economically successful partnership with the Israelis.

We are not the enemy of the poor of Islam in the Middle East or anywhere else in the world.

I also think it's important to point out, however, that we'll have to keep working on this. We've got more to do there. And we have to keep working at home.

I was very encouraged when the president went to the mosque and met with the Muslim leaders to point out to the American people that Islam is not our enemy. The attacks on Muslims and mosques are regrettable. They are by in large carried out by people who are angry and scared and still ignorant of the roots and the diversity of Islam, because we're still learning about each other.

Sikhs have been attacked because they wear turbans and the Taliban does too. An Indian Christian was attacked because he looked like he might have been one of them.

We're still getting it right here. One the most moving encounters I've had since I started going into New York was outside the armory crisis center when I was talking to all of these victim's families, this huge guy was a head taller than me, was standing there, and he had big tears in his eyes. And I said, "Have you lost someone?" He said, "Not in my family." But he said, "I am an Egyptian Muslim American." And he said, "Believe it or not, I probably regret what happened more than you do. And I am so afraid my fellow Americans will never trust me again." That's one of the things they want. And we can't give it to them. We have to continue to live up to our founders' injunction about making a more perfect union.

The last thing I want to say is this: This is about more than what we do, it's about who we are, who they are and what the 21st century's going to be about. For between ourselves and the Taliban and Mr. bin Laden, there are radically different views about the nature of truth, the value of life and the content of community. It is at the root of all of this, would not be solved if we had perfect policies in all the areas that I mentioned.

They believe they have the truth. And if you agree with them, you've got it too. And if you don't—well, you know that.

We believe, and have believed since we were founded as a democracy, that no one has the whole truth; that the truth is something we can only fully realize when we're in a different place than Earth; that we are humans, be definition, fallible. We are on a journey toward understanding the truth.

This difference leads to radically different conclusions about the value of life. We believe everybody counts, everybody has a role to play, everybody deserves a chance. We have to learn from each other. They believe there are three categories of people: the people who accept their truth, who are Muslims; the Muslims who don't, who are heretics; and those that are Muslims, who are infidels. And if you are in the latter two categories, well, just to hell with you, even if you are a 6-year-old girl who just wanted to go to work with her mother on September the 11th at the World Trade Center.

They believe a community is people—made up of people who are all the same, who have the same religion, and the same beliefs and practice the same way, and that those beliefs have to be enforced by rigorous authority so we see on the television the excerpts from that movie, "Behind the Veil," with those Afghan women imprisoned in their burqas—I don't even know how they breathe in them—being beaten on the street by sanctimonious men with their little sticks, or in one case shot.

We believe that anybody can be part of our community as long as you accept the rules of engagement: individual equality, mutual re-

spect, obedience to the law. We think we all do better when we work together. And this is a much more interesting country than it was 30 years ago because we have people here from everywhere. We've got people in this room here tonight from everywhere. Now our kind of community has a lot of problems. We still have hate crimes. We still have—because we're more open, we're vulnerable to the things that happen that we deplore. But it has created a lot of good, and it's given a lot of people from everywhere a chance to live their dreams.

Their kind of community has created 4.5 million refugees. So people are voting even there.

It's very important that you understand that we are up against a worthy adversary: a man of great intelligence, great wealth, great boldness who honestly believes he has the truth with his top aides.

It's also important that you believe—even though sitting here tonight you agree with me, that you understand this is very hard to do. We all organize the world into categories so we can think and function. We have to. Men, women, boys, girls, adults, children, black, white, Muslim, Christian, Ba'hai. Buddhist, business, labor, government, education. We have to. We have to organize reality into these little boxes.

And then our whole lives are spent acquiring the wisdom to understand that they do not reflect reality, they just capture a piece of it we can use so we can come to understand the unity of the human spirit and the human community. But it's very hard.

Look what happened to the greatest people of the age. Gandhi killed, not by a Muslim, but by a Hindu because he was a Hindu who wanted India for the Muslims and the Jains and the Sikhs.

Sadat killed by the organization the number two guy in Afghanistan heads today. Not by an Israeli rocket, but by an angry Egyptian who hated him for being willing to lay down a lifetime of military service to make peace with Israel.

My friend Yitzak Rabin killed, not by a Palestinian terrorist, but by an angry Israeli who thought he should not reach across the divide to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians and try to bring an end to decades of slaughter and insecurity.

Mandela survived, praise God, but only after giving up 27 of the best years of his life, so that he was able to reach out to the other side without having the people of his own ethnic group and political views think he had betrayed them. This is not easy to do.

But if you look at America's long journey, it is worth the effort. So, yes, let us support the president. Let us win this battle. But let us look down the road to reduce those negative resources and spread the reach of those positive ones so that what we have sought for America we can one day offer to all of the world, and so that our children will see that we met this task in a way that not only helped their lives, but the children like them in every corner of the Earth.

Thank you, very much.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Ms. Evans, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages